1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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would come and see me. At night I often listened to them telling folk-tales. Since most of the life was carried on outdoors I could stand on my doorstep and both see and hear the life of the hamlet about me. Here was a noisy quarrel going on, there some children playing, and in the distance, returning from the bush, some men with a wild pig they had just captured. Information was thus obtained through all these methods: regular work with informants in the privacy of my home, observation of all events in the community life, and participation, to some degree, in the casual everyday life of the natives.

I used stick tobacco as my currency in trading with the natives. Everyone—men, women, and children—smoked. They had their own native-grown tobacco, but they much preferred my Virginia twist. All my economic transactions were carried on according to native custom. I had bought with me gifts—knives, spades, loin-cloths, tinsel trimming, jews' harps, etc.—and I was on terms of gift exchange with many of the natives; the code of reciprocity was followed.

My relationship with the natives was not built up in a day. The first month I worked slowly and carefully, developing friendships and winning their confidence. I tried to be perfectly consistent in my behaviour towards them and always gave a very simple reason for everything I did. In a few months I felt secure in their friendship and liking, and I could then venture to get the more intimate details of their life.

To learn the language, which is a hitherto unrecorded Melanesian dialect with apparently Papuan elements, was the most difficult part of the work for me. I recorded texts and then, with the aid of an interpreter, analysed them. I collected a vocabulary as I went along. I listened to native

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in the settlement of a quarrel. It occurs between individuals and groups such as moieties, and the proper time for it to take place is at a feast. Again, it is the social structure which determines in what manner a large part of the exchange is conducted.

TRADE

Trading, which likewise takes place at feasts, occurs between individuals and groups, and is based upon the principle of reciprocity. In trading, however, there is a medium of exchange or currency. This is the *tsera*, one unit of which consists of an arm's length of tiny flat shell discs strung together. It is made on a near-by island, Lawongai, north of New Ireland, where I am told there are only a few men who can make it. While making the currency the man must be continent, and he sleeps in a separate house from his wife.[1] There are two kinds of *tsera*, white and red, the latter being twice as valuable as the former. (Some of the white *tsera* is made at Laummasong, in another linguistic district of New Ireland.) Sometimes the two colours will be combined. Attached to the strings of *tsera* are usually dog's teeth and an ornament called *urakembaum*. The teeth are supposed to cry out and attract more *tsera* to it. The *urakembaum*, a small round fibre object, has a mussel shell as an "eye," also supposed to attract more *tsera* to it. A native keeps his currency in a basket in the house (or to-day it may

[1] I did not have the opportunity of visiting Lawongai, and I was unable to get any information on how the currency was first introduced into New Ireland. As far as I could ascertain, there is no new currency coming in, and the amount now in circulation is not being augmented. However, the Australian shilling is gradually coming in as an additional currency. Boys working on plantations are paid in money, which then gets circulated among other natives. There is now a perfectly stable rate of exchange: one *tsera* is equal to five Australian shillings. I neglected to find out how this rate was arrived at. Large payments are sometimes made in both currencies, although the native one is more used than the introduced one.

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be kept in a locked box purchased from a trade store), and it is never displayed except when it is being used in some economic transaction. The following are the native names and value in shillings for the different kinds of *tsera*:

Muning: the white *tsera* made at Laummasong; *two* arm lengths are worth five shillings.

Atok: red and white *tsera* mixed, *one* arm length worth five shillings.

Lolul: a half of a unit of *Atok*.

Biäl: red *tsera*, *one* arm length worth five shillings.

Unless otherwise indicated, when the term *tsera* is used, either *atok* or *biäl* is meant. *Muning* is regarded as of little value and if used double the amount of the *atok* or *biäl* is required.

All objects which are sold have a value in terms of *tsera*. The following is a scale of prices:

	Tsera
Large *kepkep* (breast ornament) worn by men	2
Small *kepkep* (breast ornament) worn by women	1
Armband (*biuk*), five of them made of trochus shell and worn at one time by men and women	1
Spear	2
Canoe	4 to 6
Fishing-nets	2
Drum	1
Shark-catching outfit	1½
Pigs—the price varies according to size and sex:	
Large male pig	2 to 4
Female pig	5 to 10

The prices for pigs are not as set as those for the objects listed above. A rich person might pay five *tsera* for a pig for which another man would pay four. The more he pays the more prestige the buyer has. Everyone then knows he is a rich man. On the other hand, the owner of the pig would gain prestige if he sold it for four *tsera* when he might have received five. There is never any bargaining, and the concept of a bargain is unknown in native trade. Most objects have

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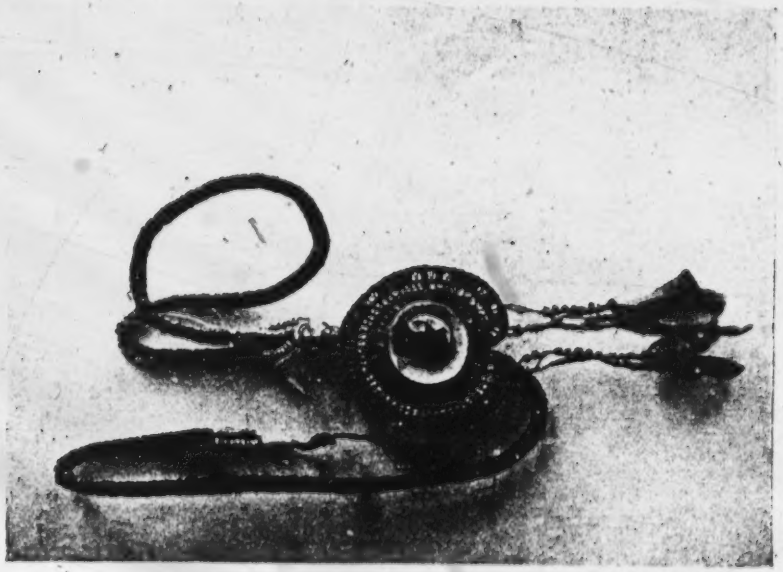
291
483

THE CAPTURED WILD PIG

●436
301



TSERA, SHELL CURRENCY WITH ORNAMENT ATTACHED

[facing p. 209]

2: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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the payments are ritually made to the owners of the pigs which were consumed at the feast, to the dancers, and to those who carried the corpse to the grave. In each case it is a close clan relative, a son, or mother's sister's son, a mother, or a mother's brother who makes the payments. It is never the surviving consort. While one person, such as a son, is considered responsible for the feast, he is assisted by other members of his clan (which is the same as that of the dead person). At the funeral of the old woman, Maling, there were fifteen pigs, all contributed, or rather paid for, by the members of her clan. Her mother's sister's son contributed three, and each one of the other clan relatives one. Most of these pigs were purchased from other people, regardless of clan or moiety, and it was to these people that the payments were made. The man making the payment held up a piece of *tsera* (shell currency) and called out the name of the man or woman to whom he was paying it and mentioned also what the payment was for. At another funeral there were ten pigs and a total payment of 39 *tsera* made for them, 32 out of the 39 being paid by clan relatives of the dead person. The remaining 7 were paid by the following three people, her husband, the chief (whose father was of the same clan as the dead woman), and another man who was of the same moiety, but of a different clan from the dead woman. This man was unmarried and most of his clan relatives were dead. He was a classificatory brother of the dead woman and she had frequently given him food. His contribution now of two *tsera* for a small pig was considered as a reciprocal gift to her. The general rule is that clan relatives pay for all the pigs and services. The exceptions just noted merely indicate that this primitive society is, like all societies, flexible in carrying out its rules.

The officiating clan relative also makes the payment to the dancers and pall-bearers.

The taro for the feast is contributed by all the women of the hamlet and the neighbouring hamlets, the clan relatives bringing a little bit more than the others, but in the matter of taro there is no fine distinction drawn as in the case of payment for pigs. Every woman brings the taro from her garden, and it involves no question of payment. Taro is never sold on any occasion, but pigs are a common object of trade.

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

attacking shoals of fish come near to take their share. The canoe-men throw in their fish bait to lure the sharks within range of their loops of cane, and then they catch them, and after knocking them on the head haul them into the canoe. 226

Small gardens are made wherever fertile ground can be found, and in one or two places there are sago swamps where sago is cultivated and reserved for times of dry weather and food shortage. 241

In olden days trading was actively carried on between some of the coastal villages and Tabar. Nowadays the coastal and bush people barter with fish and taro, pigs, &c. 439

A shell money currency is used for trading and ceremonial purposes. It consists of smooth flat discs strung on fibre strands. At Kandan this is known as *levene*. One kind *levene da lolot*, a small red shell money, is made in the islands north of Kavieng and traded down the road; another *levene do liklik*, a small white shell money of lesser value, is made in the vicinity of Lemasong and Pinigindu. On the Lelet Plateau a different shell money *levene dasilok* occurs. It is of great value locally. Nothing was known of its origin, and there is relatively little of it left. When they showed it to me, I recognized it as the red shell money used in the D'Entrecasteaux group of Papua where it is known commonly as *sapi-sapi* and *bagi*. Similar shell money also occurs in the British Solomons. It probably found its way into the district during the "Blackbirding days" of olden times when many natives from this coast were recruited and taken to work on the cane-fields of Queensland. One or two of the survivors were met in the villages, still hale and hearty despite their age. 436 [171]

In this area there is still another kind of shell money *levene bungabung* made from white shell, the discs being larger than the other forms. The origin of this is also unknown.

The record of my enumeration of the population was handed to Mr. Charles H. Wickens, Commonwealth Government Statistician and Actuary, for consideration. His comments thereon are sub-joined— 128

The three tables which are appended have been compiled from investigations made by E. W. P. Chinery in the villages of the East coast of New Ireland, and provided a mass of data which might be profitably availed of by those wishing to make an intensive study of local conditions in New Guinea.

The first table is in respect of the components of population, and indicates by males and females the conjugal condition of adults, the number of children and adopted children and the number of village people who were absent at mission schools or at work outside the village.

The second table deals with the issue and survival of children of a number of unions in each village, and indicates the mortality of children during the lactation period (approximately two years after birth) and up to the time of the investigation, and number of children that were born per union and the number that survived per union. The mortality of first-born children is also shown.